

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 STATE 190190
ORIGIN NODS-00

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DRAFTED BY: S/S:PTNAROFF

APPROVED BY: MR. TARNOFF

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO WHITE HOUSE IMMEDIATE

S E C R E T STATE 190190

NODIS

EYES ONLY FOR DR. BRZEZINSKI

FOLLOWING REPEAT TOKYO 12210 SENT ACTION SECSTATE 11 AUG 77

QUOTE S E C R E T TOKYO 12210

NODIS

FOR ACTING SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER AND ASST. SECY HOLBROOKE
EYES ONLY FROM MANSFIELD

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: ENRG, PARM, TECH, JA

SUBJECT: NEW IMPRESSIONS OF TOKAI MURA SITUATION

REF: A. TOKYO 11748, B. TOKYO 12191, C. STATE 180315

1. IN A SEPARATE CABLE SENT FROM HERE TODAY (REFTEL B), THE
EMBASSY IS REPORTING TO THE DEPARTMENT THE CURRENT STATUS OF
JAPANESE GOVERNMENT THINKING ON HOW TO RESOLVE THE TOKAI MURA
REPROCESSING PLANT QUESTION. I AM CONCERNED THAT THE JAPANESE
HAVE NOT MOVED VERY FAR TOWARD ACHIEVING THE MUTUAL COMPROMISE

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WE HAVE BEEN SEEKING, BUT I CONTINUE TO HOLD THE BELIEF, AS
STATED IN REFTEL A, THAT OPTION 2 IS STILL A VIABLE COURSE,
AND THAT THE JAPANESE CAN BE BROUGHT WITHIN ITS RANGE.

2. I HAVE ONE RESERVATION, HOWEVER, THAT IS BASED MORE ON
UNDERTAINTY THAN FACT. AFTER BEING INFORMED OF THE LATEST
JAPANESE THINKING, WE HAVE RE-EXAMINED THE PROVISIONS OF

OPTION 2 AS SET FORTH IN REFTEL C AND REALIZE THAT THERE ARE TWO POSSIBLE INTERPRETATIONS. WE HAVE BEEN ASSUMING THAT UNDER OPTION 2 THE JAPANESE WOULD NOT BE REQUIRED TO MAKE A COMMITMENT TO CHANGING THE OPERATION OF THE TOKAI MURA PLANT FROM THE ONE ORIGINALLY PLANNED TO WHAT IS CALLED THE CO-PROCESSING MODE UNTIL AFTER CERTAIN RESEARCH WAS DONE AND UNTIL AFTER THE RESULTS OF INFCEP WERE AVAILABLE. THE COMMENTS OFFERED IN MY MESSAGE TO DICK HOLBROOKE (REF A) WERE IN FACT BASED ON THAT PREMISE. A REREADING OF OPTION 2, HOWEVER, INDICATES THAT IT MAY BE INTENDED TO REQUIRE THE JAPANESE TO MAKE A COMMITMENT TO GO TO CO-PROCESSING DURING THE NEXT ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS, AND THAT THE COMMITMENT WOULD BE BINDING WITHOUT REGARD TO FURTHER RESEARCH OR TO THE RESULTS OF INFCEP. AS NOTED IN OPTION 2, THIS WOULD NECESSARILY REQUIRE THE JAPANESE TO ASSUME HEAVY ADDITIONAL COSTS (IN THE RANGE INDICATED IN REF C PARA 8); AS JOINT TECHNICAL STUDY SHOWED THIS ALSO WOULD ENTAIL LONG DELAYS IN THEIR NUCLEAR POWER DEVELOPMENT PROGRAM.

3. I REGRET TO SAY THAT I AM FEARFUL THAT IF THE LATTER COURSE IS IN FACT THE ONE THAT IS TO BE TAKEN, IT WILL CATCH THE JAPANESE BY SURPRISE, THEY WILL BE UNABLE TO THINK OF WAYS TO ACCOMMODATE THIS APPROACH, AND THE THIRD ROUND OF NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE DOOMED TO FAILURE.

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WHATEVER FLEXIBILITY THERE MAY BE IN THE JAPANESE POSITION, I DO NOT BELIEVE THEY WILL AGREE TO AN UNDERTAKING WHICH THEY ARE VIRTUALLY CERTAIN TO REGARD AS CONTRARY TO THE PRINCIPLES AGREED UPON FOR THE INFCEP STUDY, AND AS IMPOSING ON JAPAN MORE STRINGENT CONDITIONS THAN THE US IS IN A POSITION TO PERSUADE WESTERN EUROPEAN COUNTRIES TO AGREE TO--IN SHORT, DISCRIMINATION AGAINST JAPAN. SUCH A REACTION, MOREOVER, IS LIKELY TO RAISE DOUBTS IN THE MINDS OF GOJ LEADERS ABOUT THE RELIABILITY OF THE PRESIDENT'S ASSURANCE TO PRIME MINISTER FUKUDA THAT HE PERSONALLY WOULD ENDEAVOR TO REACH A COMPROMISE THAT WILL ACCOMMODATE BOTH OUR INTERESTS, AN ASSURANCE WHICH I HAVE REITERATED IN SUBSEQUENT DISCUSSIONS WITH LEADING OFFICIALS INVOLVED.

4. I AM MORE CONCERNED ABOUT THE POSSIBILITY OF A CONFRONTATION ON THIS PARTICULAR ISSUE SINCE, IN VIEW OF THE POLITICAL HEAT SURROUNDING THIS WHOLE ISSUE IN JAPAN, I BELIEVE THAT IT IS NECESSARY TO MAKE SUBSTANTIAL PROGRESS TOWARD A SOLUTION IN THE NEXT ROUND, EVEN IF A FINAL COMPROMISE CANNOT BE REACHED. I THINK THAT

PROGRESS AND MAYBE EVEN A CONCLUSION TO THE NEGOTIATIONS
CAN BE REACHED IF WE DO NOT FORCE THE JAPANESE IN A
DIRECTION WHICH, ON THE BASIS OF ALL EVIDENCE AVAILABLE
TO DATE, THEY ARE UNPREPARED TO TAKE AND WHICH IS
POLITICALLY UNACCEPTABLE TO THEM.

5. I HOPE THAT IT WILL BE POSSIBLE FOR YOU TO MAKE MY
VIEWS KNOWN TO THE PRESIDENT AT THIS CRITICAL TIME IN
HIS CONSIDERATION OF THE NEXT STEPS TO BE TAKEN BY THE
US.
MANSFIELD

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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NNN

Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
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